l: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

hazy, the clouds heavy, and always dark; while *Kamtſchatka* appears like another world, where the land lies higher, and the air is clear and ſerene.

The ſnow lies always deeper upon the *Lopatka* than upon the northern ſide of *Kamtſchatka*; ſo that, if it be twelve feet in depth about the *Lopatka*, upon the *Awatſcha* and the Great River it is not ſo deep by one third, and at the ſame time lies lighter and more equal, by reaſon that the winds are not ſo high there. About *Tegbil* and *Karaga* the ſnow is ſeldom deeper than a foot and a half: hence the reaſon appears why the *Kamtſchadales* do not keep rein-deer as well as the *Koreki*, but depend upon the fiſh for their nouriſhment, which upon the north-eaſt and north-weſt coaſt from the Great River is ſo ſcarce, that unleſs theſe barbarous creatures could digeſt every thing they can get down, they would not be able to ſupport life; for, though throughout the country of *Kamtſchatka* there would be food enough for rein-deer, yet the depth of the ſnow renders it impoſſible to maintain a number of them; and what rein-deers we had occaſion for in the expedition were never kept here in the winter, the depth of the ſnow making it hard for them to dig down to their food.

The force of the ſun reflected from the ſnow in the ſpring is ſo great, that the inhabitants are as tawny as *Indians*; nay, they have their eyes ſpoiled and blinded thereby: therefore the natives generally wear covers pierced with ſmall holes, or nets of black hair, to leſſen the number of rays which would otherwiſe fall upon their eyes. This is occaſioned by the great winds, which drive the ſnow ſo cloſe together that it is almoſt as hard and ſolid as ice, and will not allow the rays of the ſun to penetrate, but reflects them with greater force upon the very delicate and ſenſible nerves of the retina than they are able to bear. Mr. *Steller* ſays, that neceſſity forced him to find out a remedy for the pain and inflammation of the eyes, which generally gave relief in ſix

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

OF THE

NATIVES of *Kamtſchatka*,

AND THEIR

CUSTOMS *and* MANNERS.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

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Of the NATIVES *of* Kamtſchatka *in general.*

THE natives of *Kamtſchatka* are as wild as the country itſelf. Some of them have no fixed habitations, but wander from place to place with their herds of rein-deer; others have ſettled habitations, and reſide upon the banks of the rivers and the ſhore of the *Penſchinſka* ſea, living upon fiſh and ſea animals, and ſuch herbs as grow upon the ſhore: the former dwell in huts covered with deer-ſkins, the latter in places dug out of the earth; both in a very barbarous manner: their diſpoſitions and tempers are rough; and they are intirely ignorant of letters or religion.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

north to the Nalachevaya River in the south. The second included Itel'mens living from the Nalachevaya River to Cape Lopatka, as well as the "Near Kurilers." The third group consisted of the Itel'mens of the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula (Sedanka-Khayryuzovo). The greatest differences were between the languages of the northern and southern groups. Of the dialects of the Itel'men language, only two have survived to our time—the Khayruyuzovo and the Sedanka, which were strongly affected by Koryak and Russian.

The question of the origin of the Itel'mens remains open. The archeological remains on the peninsula have not been studied sufficiently. They are represented by semiunderground dwellings, which hold large quantities of neolithic stone implements: arrowheads, spears, hatchets, scrapers, blubber lamps, well-made bone objects and fragments of pottery. These are very close to the Itel'men implements of the 17th and 18th centuries. Similar stone and bone objects were found by the first explorers of Kamchatka—S. Krasheninnikov (1737–1742) and G. Steller (1740–44).

The first ethnographic data about the Itel'mens were provided by V. Atlasov, who made a journey to Kamchatka from the Anadyr' Fort in 1697, with a detachment of Cossacks and Yukagirs. Atlasov followed the western coast, almost to the southern tip of the peninsula, and collected the first fur-tax from the Itel'mens. He found the Itel'mens at the height of the neolithic technique in making stone and bone implements. His "tales" (reports) abound in ethnographic materials. They provide fairly detailed descriptions of the material culture (villages, dwellings, clothing, methods of preparing food, etc.), the geographic distribution, and individual features of clan organization. Especially interesting are Atlasov's data on pottery-making, for only 40 years later, S. Krasheninnikov found no traces of this occupation among the Itel'mens.

Economy, Daily Life and Social Relations

Thanks to the remarkable work of Stepan Krasheninnikov, a participant in Bering's Second Kamchatka Expedition, we have a detailed account of the material production and social order of the Itel'mens in the first half of the 18th century, when they still retained their original culture.

They were fishermen who lived in permanent settlements along rivers. Their largest concentration was in the basin of the Kamchatka River. The main fishing season was during the salmon-run, when the fish surged upstream in dense masses to spawn. They fished with nets and hooks.

Nets were woven of nettle fiber. Fish was cured, made into yukola, and pickled in pits. Fish-heads were always pickled; this was a favorite dish.

The second important occupation of the Itel'mens was hunting. Kamchatka at that time was very rich in meat and fur animals. But fur animals were also hunted primarily for meat, since there was no market for the furs. V. Atlasov reported that the Itel'mens mixed chopped sable tails with the clay when making clay utensils.

An important role in the Itel'men economy was played by sea hunting. They hunted seal, fur-seal, and sea-beaver. The southern Itel'mens also hunted whales with arrows poisoned with plant poison.

None of the northern Siberian peoples engaged as widely as the Itel'mens in gathering wild plants. Most important in their diet were the tubers of sarana (a local name for various members of the lily family), sweet grass stems, the leaves of arnica, various berries, cedar nuts, etc. Plant tubers were dug out with a special digging implement of deer horn, tied to a wooden

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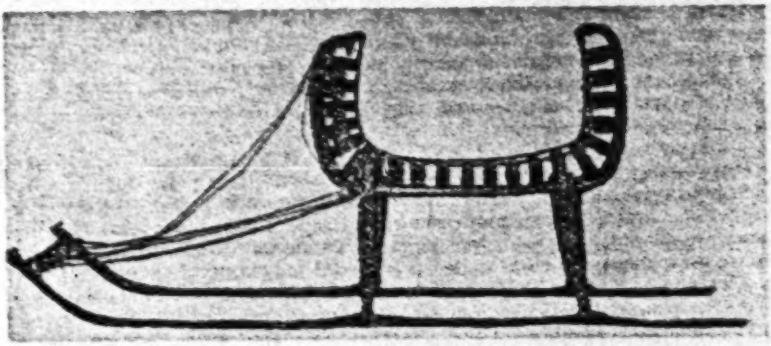

18th-century dogsled.

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handle. Later the horn was replaced by an iron tip. Gathering plants was women's work. Fishing and hunting were men's occupations, but the preserving of fish was in the woman's domain, as were the spinning of thread for the nets from nettle, the weaving of mats, and sewing of clothes. Krasheninnikov reports that preparing food, tending the dogs and all carpentry work were done by men.

The Russians found among the Itel'mens a highly developed neolithic technology. "The former Kamchatka metals, almost until the coming of the Russians, were bone and stones. They were used in the making of axes, knives, spears, arrows, lancets and needles," Krasheninnikov writes about the Itel'mens. Rock crystal was also widely used for knives and tips. Fire was made with a wooden drill. Food, mainly fish and meat, was cooked even in the early 18th century in wooden troughs, into which red-hot stones were thrown.

The only domesticated animal of the Itel'mens was the dog. Later, harness dog-breeding of the so-called Eastern Siberian type developed in Kamchatka. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the Itel'mens used their ancient sled with two pairs of arched staves and a saddle-like seat. At the time of Krasheninnikov's visit, the Itel'mens had gliding skis, but used mostly woven snowshoes. River navigation was by bat—narrow boats, hollowed out of whole poplar trunks. For stability and greater carrying capacity, two of these boats were sometimes tied together and covered to make a platform. Krasheninnikov reports that it took the Itel'mens three years to make a bat with a stone adze.

The Russians called the Itel'men villages in the 18th century ostrozhkas, or "little forts." They were situated along river banks and consisted of winter and summer dwellings. The winter dwelling was a semiunderground yurt, as it was then called by the Russians, with an entrance through the smoke-opening in the roof. The dwelling also had a side exit, but this was used only by women and children. The summer dwelling of the individual family was the so-called balagan—a pyramidal, grass-covered tent set on high platforms resting on piles. The ancient dress of the Itel'mens resembled Koryak and Chukchi dress.

Such, in its general features, was the material culture of the Itel'mens in the beginning of the 18th century. Analogous to the low level of material production were the primitive forms of social relations.

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Village, 18th-century engraving.

At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position in every ostroshka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy and life of the Itel'mens.

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest

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105 The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest
[1716] spirits, the sea-spirit, Mitg, good protecting spirits, etc. Anthropomorphic images of the spirits were usually made of wood.

[1793] The central figure of Itel'men mythology was the raven-creator, Kutkh. But he was not held in esteem, and various comical and obscene stories were told about him.

[764] The bodies of dead adults were given to the dogs to eat; children were
[756] buried in hollow trees. The Itel'men shamans did not have any special clothing or tambourines.

[1799] In the middle of the 18th century, the Itel'mens were converted to Christianity, but they continued to cling to their animistic ideas.

175 Information about the abundance of fur on Kamchatka received from Luka
648 Morozko and Atlasov attracted the attention of the tsarist government and the Yakutiyan governors.

A special official—a prikashchik—was appointed to collect taxes. The Kamchatka prikashchiks, who were virtually the full masters of the peninsula, often abused their power. In addition to the fur-tax, they exacted from the population great quantities of furs for their own enrichment. The predatory extermination of fur animals, and most of all, sable, sharply reduced the catch, and the Itel'mens were often unable to pay the tax in full. The arbitrary extortion of cured fish, "sweet grass" for wine-making, lily tubers, berries, cedar nuts, seal blubber, skins, and even sleds, boats and clothing, for the benefit of the tax collectors became systematic. In addition to all this, the natives suffered from exploitative trading and its consequences—debt slavery.

175 The Itel'mens' struggle against extortions and oppression expressed
648 itself at first in attacks on individual representatives of the tsarist govern-
669 ment and raids on the tax treasury. Large uprisings broke out in 1706, 1711 and 1731.

The rebellion of 1731 involved nearly all the Itel'mens. After its suppression, a special "investigating office" was sent to the area to look into its causes. The leaders of the rebellion were executed. Some of the officials were also punished.

[161] The quelling of rebellions by armed force and the arbitrary rule of the
[731] local officials reduced the Itel'men population. But the principal reason for the population decline was the epidemics of smallpox, typhus and other
[614] diseases which devastated entire districts. The remnants of the various
178 clans could no longer exist independently and united into larger territorial
[728] units. Thus, instead of the former clan villages, new settlements sprang up, inhabited by members of various clans. New villages were also created by compulsory resettlement. Thus, after the rebellion of 1731, the inhabitants of the village of Klyuchi were resettled in Kozyrevsk; the inhabitants of Nachiki were moved there from the western coast of the peninsula.

175 The system of tax collection through the village elders and the develop-
648 ment of barter with Russians resulted in the accumulation of private prop-
556 erty in the hands of some individuals. As early as the 1730's, there were
426 toyons (elders) who lent sables to their kinsmen to enable them to pay their tribute, in exchange for subsequent work.

175 The economic condition of the Itel'mens did not improve in the latter half
648 of the 18th century. This was due above all to the system of tax collection and the tyranny of the local authorities. Taxes were collected, not from the present population, but according to lists, which included men long dead. The living thus had to pay taxes for dead relatives. Extremely onerous, too,
[466] was the imposition of the duty to transport numerous officials, as well as cargo, without compensation all over the peninsula. This took the men away from their occupations and condemned them to frequent periods of famine.